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Washington Report

By HENRY A. WAXMAN

Congressman, 24th District

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UNITED NATIONS UNDER SCRUTINY

It was with great sadness that I recently co-authored a Congressional Resolution responding to threats to oust Israel. The Resolution, which has the support of both the Democratic and Republican House leadership, calls on the United States to seriously consider withdrawal from the U.N. if Israel is expelled. U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations would mean the death of whatever slim hopes there may be that the U.N. may yet serve the purposes for which it was created.

Is the fear of Israel's expulsion well grounded or is it ill-considered panic? Technically speaking no country can be expelled merely by action of the General Assembly. The motion to expel Israel properly belongs before the Security Council. The U.S., England, and France have all indicated the intention of vetoing any Israel ouster measure considered by the Council.

Israel's U.N. foes, fully cognizant of the veto problem on the Security Council, plan to side-step that body entirely choosing instead the General Assembly as the arena for their battle. Some tricky parliamentary double-talk is being used to justify the General Assembly strategy. The Arabs, Communists, and so-called "Third World" countries involved in the oust Israel plot insist that they are not attempting to "expel" a nation. Rather they are seeking a vote of

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the General Assembly to nullify the 1949 vote which first admitted Israel to the world organization. I suppose one might call this "retroactive non-admission." For some reason, despite the fact that I am a lawyer by training, I cannot tell how this differs from expulsion.

Once the issue is moved from the Security Council to the General Assembly the expulsion of Israel is assured. Even with quite a few defections and absentions, the anti-Israel bloc can easily muster a majority vote. Remember there are numerous tiny Third World nations with one full vote in the General Assembly - even if their populations are smaller than that of most states in the U.S.

In view of the long period of time during which the United Nations has primarily served the Arab cause some may wonder whether expulsion would harm Israel. I believe it would. I believe it would deprive both Israel and the Arab states of a common institutional framework within which to handle some important day-to-day affairs of their region. We ought not forget that the current uneasy cease-fire was facilitated and is now monitored by U.N. personnel. Surely no one believes that Israel, were she expelled from the U.N., could continue to entrust to that organization any matters of consequence.

Congress and the American people have allowed the U.N. to deteriorate very badly. We have not payed proper attention to the internal political changes that have transformed the organization since its founding at the close of World War II. We have allowed

it to become a theater for conflict rather than an instrument for peace. I say "we" because I believe the United States as the principal founder and principal funder of the body can and should have more to say about what kind of an organization the U.N. is.

For years I argued that Mainland China ought to be recognized by the U.S. and admitted to the U.N. I did not take that position because I admire Chinese Communist totalitarianism or because I believed such steps would instantly eliminate tensions between China and other countries. Rather, I believe, both on idealistic and practical grounds, that the U.S. should recognize and the U.N. should include every single country in the world. U.N. membership was never intended to reflect popularity, world respect, or any other form of approval.

On the contrary, the very purpose of the U.N. was to bring together, in a common forum, nations which despise and scorn each other. The "charges" against Israel -- without regard to their truth or falseness -- are grounds for discrimination or expulsion. Such constituent agencies of the U.N. as UNESCO have already taken illegal discriminatory actions against Israel. The United States must defend Israel and defend the principles of the U.N. by opposing the ouster move.

As a youth my political heroes were Adlai Stevenson and Eleanor Roosevelt. They both had intense hopes for the United Nations and labored unceasingly to bring those hopes to fruition. It is difficult for me to abandon those hopes. I believe, however, that a U.N. which expels Israel will have sounded its own death knells. Better no United Nations at all than a United Nations which has totally betrayed the ideals on which it was founded.